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The Rank Order and Lin Piao's Conspiracy To Restore Capitalism

by

Liang Hsiao (梁效)

(Li-shih Yen-chiu /Historical Research/, No. 3, June 20, 1975)

In "Communist Manifesto" Marx and Engels pointed out: "In the earlier epochs of history, we find almost everywhere a complicated arrangement of society into various orders, a manifold gradation of social rank." In the history of our country, from the slave society to the semi-colonial, semi-feudal society prior to the liberation, the system of gradation had existed for thousands of years. The Confucian school cooked up all kinds of reactionary theories to maintain the domination of rank order. In the era of socialism, the system of man exploiting man having been overthrown, the class structure in society has undergone a fundamental change, but with the continuing presence of bourgeois right, actual inequalities still exist, and grade differences still have their objective basis. In pushing the counter-revolutionary revisionist line in China, vainly attempting to restore capitalism and deliberately extending bourgeois right and grade differences, people like Lin Piao naturally have to seek the aid of Confucian reactionary doctrines in support of the grade system. Lin Piao personally wrote: "Propriety is the first and foremost of the four ethical principles of virtue -- a question of political power." He related his dream of setting up a Lin family feudal-fascist dynasty closely to the Confucian "propriety" maintaining the rank order. Therefore, to criticize the grade system advocated by Lin Piao and Confucius, to criticize Lin Piao's crimes in trumpeting bourgeois right, extending grade differences and conspiring to restore capitalism, and to deepen our understanding of the dictatorship of the proletariat is a matter of prime importance.

The ancient slave society of our country had an extremely strict gradation of social rank. "Just as Heaven has ten-day periods, so men have ten grades" is a portrayal of the then caste society. In the Shang Dynasty, there were aristocrat orders for slave owners such as princes, marquises, manor counts, barons and viscounts, while the broad masses of oppressed slaves were merely referred to as commoners, laborers, subjects, concubines, and servants. By Western Chou this grade system as it existed in slave society was developed to its perfection. The slave society of Western Chou having evidently a patriarchical character, the state determined the political ranks according to the patriarchical and blood relationships. The Son of Heaven of Chou was the slave owner of the highest rank. Just as it was said in "Poetry: The North Mountains": "All land under Heaven is his land; within the shoreline of his domain, all are his subjects." In order to strengthen his rule, the Son of Heaven of Chou created principalities on a large scale, giving large tracts of land and slaves to princes either sharing or not sharing his family name. In turn, these princes gave part of their land and slaves to their senior officials. This formed a manifold gradation of social rank, with the Son of Heaven, princes, ministers, petty officials and slaves having their

proper places. The title, land and slaves of slave-owner aristocrats at various levels were to be inherited by the eldest son born of the official wife, so that caste rule was assured politically through the graded relations under the patriarchical system. The broad masses of slaves, deprived of all rights, were treated worse than beasts of burden at the pyramid base of such a system.

The grade system of slavery in Western Chou dominated every aspect of social life. From the state's political system to marriage and burial, in fact, the slightest detail in everyday life, there were very strict rules of gradation to be observed, and any transgression would be punished. The rulers of Western Chou drew up their laws to protect the property ownership and inheritance rights of the slave owners at various levels as well as the clan system and to suppress the slaves and common people. But the slave-owner aristocrats enjoyed privileges of immunity from punishment or commutation of sentences. "Propriety" which served to regulate the order among the various grades of slave owners in order to consolidate the dictatorship of the slave owners was at that time also given a legal character.

Lenin stated: "The premise of rank is the division of society into classes. Rank is but one form of class distinction." (Model of Narodnik Utopia") The grade system under the slave system fully met the needs of the slave-owner class in exercising its rule over the vast masses of slaves. The grade system of ownership of the land and slaves by the slave-owner aristocrats of Western Chou not only facilitated the direct control of slave owners at various levels over their slaves, but was also useful to the consolidation of the supreme rulership of the Son of Heaven of Chou, in other words, "make feudal lords out of relatives and Chou will be guarded by vassals." Under such a system, everyone belonged to a certain gradation of social rank, though nominally all were subjects of the Son of Heaven of Chou. In this way, class rule showed itself in the form of caste rule, or the personal rule of the Son of Heaven of Chou who sat at the top of the pyramid, which to a certain extent covered up the relations of class contradictions and was advantageous to the dictatorship exercised by the slave-owner class over the vast slave class. As far as the rule of the caste system was concerned, the same was basically true of the feudal society. As Lenin said: "In the slave and feudal societies, class distinctions were also fixed by the division of the inhabitants into orders. In the meantime, for each class a special legal status was determined in the state. Therefore, classes in slave and feudal societies (as well as serf society) represented at the same time different orders." ("The Agrarian Program of the Russian Social-Democratic Party")

The Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods were periods of transition from the slave to the feudal system in our country. On the basis of slave uprisings, the newly emerging landlord class, meeting the demands of social development, negated the rank order of slave society by instituting the rank order of the feudal system to maintain its rule over the peasants. In feudal society, the Emperor sat at the top with the various ranks of aristocrats and bureaucrats under him, and apart from an undetermined number of slaves and maids, peasants represented the lowest order in society. After

the Ch'in and Han dynasties, China established a unified country of centralized power, with local state power taking the form of the prefecture and county system, shaping a full-fledged feudal and bureaucratic system of ranks from the central government to localities. At the same time, fiefdom remained as a supplement. In various dynasties and periods, fiefs were conferred on members of the imperial families, members of the wives' families and meritorious ministers. The throne was hereditary, and so were the titles and land of the nobility. The system of rank in feudal society still bore a strong patriarchical character. Since Eastern Han and up to the Northern and Southern dynasties of Wei and Tsin, high nobles were often big officials for generations, with little change in their social status, as economic, political and military power were in fact still hereditary. The "System of Nine Grades of Official Rank" enforced during Wei and Tsin legally allowed the high nobles to monopolize military and political power generation after generation, bringing about a situation in which "there are no poor families among the higher grades and none influential among the lower."

The peasant uprisings by the latter period of the Sui Dynasty swept away the influence of powerful families since Wei and Tsin, paving the way for the rise of plebeian landlords. Once in power, plebeian landlords also used the rank order to maintain their rule. In revising the "Clan Records," the Empress Wu Tse T'ien re-defined the order of family rank, raising the status of a batch of meritorious plebeian landlords and down-grading the former high standing families. This was a manifestation of the struggle that was going on at that time between the Confucian and Legalist schools as well as a measure by which the plebeian landlords consolidated their rule. The rulers of the Sung Dynasty, in order to strengthen the feudal system of power centralization, intensified the bureaucratic grade system by endowing officials with rank privileges never seen before. This was also true with the dynasties of Yüan, Ming and Ch'ing.

Feudal laws were much more complete than those in the times of the slave system; they protected the feudal system of exploitation, the feudal system of social rank and the privileges of the aristocrats and bureaucrats. The extant earlier feudal code, "The Laws of T'ang," contained detailed provisions for the protection of the political and economic rights of the landlord class. "The Laws of T'ang" ruled that severe punishments were to be meted out to doers of "ten evils," which were largely connected with crimes disrupting the feudal caste order. In its "Eight Resolutions," it was ruled that aristocrats, bureaucrats and landlords who committed crimes could have their sentences commuted or revoked in accordance with their gradations. Therefore, laws in feudal society were essentially laws of privilege and power politics intended to protect the interests of the feudal landlord class.

Throughout Chinese history, the reactionary exploiting classes used to rely on the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius to maintain the caste system. Although the caste systems in various historical periods varied in content, they were basically the same in that they were used by the Confucianists to defend reactionary theories of the caste system.

Such notions as "rule by propriety" and "instruction in propriety" constituted the Confucian reactionary political theories for the maintenance of the caste system.

By the late Spring and Autumn period, in order to save the situation in which "the rites collapse and music is ruined" and in order to maintain and restore the rank order of slavery, Confucius pronounced his reactionary program of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety." When a representative of the newly emerging landlord class Chi Shih had eight rows of dancers perform to the accompaniment of music, Confucius said: "If this thing can be tolerated, what else is there that can't be tolerated?" As he saw it, everything had to be done strictly according to "propriety": "If things are not based on propriety, do not look at them, do not listen to them, do not say them, and do not do them." "Rule of Propriety" as conceived by Confucius contained such concepts as "rectification of names" and "clan relations." Once, Duke Ching, chieftain of the slave owners in the state of Ch'i, asked Confucius what should be done to maintain his rule. The latter replied: "The King should act like a king, the minister a minister, the father a father, and the son a son." Confucius' theory of "rectification of names" reflected in a concentrated way the wishes of the slave-owner aristocrats to maintain the rank order in a vain attempt to use the outdated rank order to rectify the objective reality that had developed so as to push society backward. Starting from the "clan relations" principle arising from the clan system of slave society, Confucius did his utmost to promote "the principle of filial piety," which he held as the basis for loyalty to the monarch. No wonder that his disciple Yu Jo said: "If a man is filial, he will not offend against the superior; and when he does not offend the superior, he will not revolt."

In feudal society, the disciples of Confucius and Mencius inherited and remodelled Confucius' "rule of propriety" idea and made it an instrument with which to defend the feudal caste system. Tung Chung-shu regarded propriety as imperative to arranging the rank order of the noble and the mean, to distinguish between the distant and the close in clan relationships. Such a feudal caste system, he held, "is an extension of Heaven and earth, and an expression of Yin and Yang," in other words, an unalterable matter of nature. He proposed the "three bonds in human relations to promote enlightened rule," which meant the minister is bond to the emperor, the son to the father and the wife to the husband. Confucius' theory of rectification of names was used to consolidate the rule of the feudal landlord class. The feudal rank order was incessantly rocked by the peasant uprisings of successive dynasties; for example, the insurgent peasants in the Sung Dynasty explicitly raised the slogan "Make the noble and the mean equal and the rich and poor even." Under these circumstances, the noted Confucianist of Southern Sung, Chu Hsi, made every effort to defend the feudal rank, saying: Society was "like a family with each member having his specific standing" and "all things have their distinctions. For example, the Emperor is the Emperor, the minister the minister, the father the father and the son the son." This set of theories was intended to keep everyone content with his specific position, so that the rule of the landlord class could be made solid.

"The theory of Heavenly mandate" and the "theory of genius" are Confucian reactionary philosophical theories to maintain the system of gradation of rank.

As Confucius saw it, "life and death are pre-ordained; riches are bestowed by Heaven." This meant that the ruling position of the slave-owner aristocrats was dictated by the will of Heaven, as was the privation of the slaves. He reasoned that the social status of the slave owners vis-a-vis the slaves was determined by the differences in innate ability and qualities. By dividing people into grades innately, Confucius was but trying to dress the system of rank in slave society with a mysterious veil of philosophy, so that people would believe that since the gods decided the innate qualities of men, the different social orders of men were only natural.

Tung Chung-shu was even more revealing in his elaboration of the rationality of the rank order with the help of "the theory of Heavenly mandate" and the "theory of genius." He argued that "the order between the Emperor and his minister, the father and his son, the husband and his wife is derived from the principles of Yin and Yang," and the fact that "Yang is superior and Yin inferior" was but the manifestation of the will of Heaven. He even went as far as to utter such absurdities: "Such titles as Son of Heaven, princes, great officers and officials are derived from Heaven and earth." The reason that the supreme ruler was called "Son of Heaven" was that he "regarded Heaven as his father"; the princes were called so because it was their duty to "wait on" the Son of Heaven and obey his orders; great officers were called "Ta Fu" because they were "greater than ordinary men"; and the word "officials" meant serving people. But "the multitudes are like the blind"; the masses of the people who created history were smeared as innately ignorant, and deserved to be placed at the bottom of society. Tung Chung-shu also divided human nature into three grades, namely, the nature of the sage, the nature of the middle people and the nature of the mean men. Such idealistic absurdity as the grading of human nature was initially a reflection of the feudal caste system, but once it appeared, it in turn became an instrument with which to defend the caste system. On the other hand, Chu Hsi replaced the "will of Heaven" with "the reason of Heaven" in an attempt to offer some objectivity to the god that oversees the natural world and human society. As he saw it, the "three bonds and five constant virtues" are the basic content of "the reason of Heaven." Because the "reason of Heaven" exists eternally, the "three bonds and five constant virtues will never change, so the Emperor and ministers remain as the emperor and ministers, the father and the son as the father and the son." Such a division of ranks was "the root of human principles, the essential of political affairs." Such reactionary theories protecting the caste system combined with the caste system itself to dominate China for a long time. As Chairman Mao points out: "Political power, clan power, divine power and power of the husband represent the whole of the feudal patriarchical ideology and system, the four big ropes binding the Chinese people, particularly peasants." ("Report of an Investigation into the Peasant Movement in Hunan")

Before the liberation China was a semi-colonial, semi-feudal society with a rigid caste system, not only bearing a capitalist character but also to a very great extent retaining the features of the feudal patriarchical system. In capitalist society, "differences in rank are manifested with particular relief in the opposition between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat." (Marx and Engels, "The German Ideology") Here, the differences in rank and privileges are mainly determined by the amount of money in one's possession. Engels stated: "The power of the bourgeoisie is entirely derived from money. Therefore, only by making money the sole criterion of one's legislative capabilities can they acquire political power. They will certainly combine all the feudal privileges and political monopoly of successive dynasties into the great privilege and monopoly of money." ("The Condition of Germany") Chiang Kai-shek, being a representative of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie, did all he could to maintain rank privileges bearing both capitalist and feudalist character, besides making every effort to advocate the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius which defended the rank order. He said nonsensically: "Social organization may evolve continuously, yet the principles governing the relations between father and son, husband and wife, brothers and friends, the order that distinguishes the superior and the inferior, man and woman, the old and the young.... are unalterable principles of social life." Chiang Kai-shek described these reactionary Confucian principles of propriety in support of the rank order as "the basic principles of government," "eternal and invariable principles," with the object of maintaining the feudal fascist rule of the Chiang family dynasty.

In a socialist society under the dictatorship of the proletariat where the public ownership of the means of production has been in the main realized, the laboring people have stood up politically and economically and become the masters of the state. The old system of exploitation and oppression with its stern and severe gradation order was uprooted. But socialist society still has classes and class struggle, the three major differences left over from the old society, bourgeois right and the inequalities arising out of it. In other words, there still exists in practice certain class distinctions. Consequently, new bourgeois elements may still be engendered. The caste ideology preached by the exploiting classes and the disciples of Confucius and Mencius for thousands of years is still diffusing its poison, corrupting people's souls. Lin Piao, this representative of the new and old bourgeois elements within the Party, in order to achieve his aim of seizing power and rigging up the capitalist system, could not fail to make use of the still existing rank distinctions and caste ideology.

Way back in the 1930's Lu Hsün said: "Now the diehards of China are reviving the past, and have brought out Confucius' instruction on propriety." Lin Piao was also such a diehard. In order to push his counter-revolutionary line of restoration, regression and national betrayal, he dished up Confucius' instruction on propriety that defended the rank order, worshipping "propriety" as a god. Lin Piao described "propriety" as "weighty as a mountain, and deep as the sea," babbling: "With propriety one can travel all over the world; without it one cannot walk even for an inch." Moreover, he wrote such sinister remarks as "Rule with propriety,

apply and practice propriety." A principal member of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique was more explicit when he said: "Propriety -- the propriety as taught by the Confucian school: king as king, minister as minister, father as father and son as son, so it is the distinctions of rank." Obviously, the reason why Lin Piao and his gang admired Confucius' propriety and repeatedly called for "returning to propriety" was that they wanted to restore the feudal comprador fascist dynasty with a rigid rank order.

In the feudal comprador fascist dynasty Lin Piao attempted to set up, the father and son of the Lin family would sit at the top of the rank pyramid. Did not Lin Piao say that propriety was "the first and foremost of the four principles of virtues," "a matter of political power"? This shows that the prime objective of his "returning to propriety" was to usurp the supreme power of the Party and state, and to change the nature of the dictatorship of the proletariat with Confucian "propriety." To prove that he should become "the ruler of men," the "emperor," he collected all the rubbish left in the arsenal of the Confucian school such as the theory of Heavenly mandate, the theory of genius and theories regarding the rectification of names. Lin Piao kept on crying that he had "the mandate of Heaven," that his brains were "exceptionally sensitive," that "the chairmanship of the state must be established, because without it, the state would be without a head. Without a proper title, one will not carry weight in his words." This was to bring the dead soul of Confucius back to life and stage a new scene of restoring capitalism and turning the dictatorship of the proletariat into a hereditary "family empire" of the father and son of the Lin family. Lin Li-kuo was a new bourgeois element and counter-revolutionary engendered under socialist conditions. Lin Piao said that Lin Li-kuo thought and spoke like him. The fact is exactly so. While Lin Piao preached "propriety," Lin Li-kuo, like a parrot, said: "The four principles of virtues in olden days gave primacy to priority, hence its importance." Of course, such resemblance did not arise out of Heavenly will or pedigree, but was the result of their common counter-revolutionary class nature. And because of this, Lin Piao and his sworn partners lauded this little fascist as a "super genius," "the third generation successor," etc. Lin Piao even presented Lin Li-kuo with a copy of King Wen of Chou's instruction to his son. These revealed Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary attempt to make his son heir to his title. A principal member of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique also wrote in his secret diary: "A dragon bears a dragon, a phoenix a phoenix, but the son of a rat can only bore another hole into the ground," thus preaching the reactionary theory of blood relationship and creating a theoretical basis for the hereditary caste system.

Among the large and small "fleets" organized on strict lines of rank, Lin Piao made every effort to advocate "loyalty, filial piety, integrity and righteousness," laid down many "taboos" of fascist discipline, and carried out extensive activities of swearing loyalty and repaying favors. In order to induce his diehard partners to "drain all their wisdom and strength" for his counter-revolutionary cause, he had the Confucian "art of bringing out the best in the generals" by offering them titles and other rewards. A principal member of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique wrote: "Heroes are bound to have their chance. Give them high positions, rich emoluments and big power, and they

will demonstrate their talent." In other words, diehard followers should be bought off with high positions, rich emoluments and big power. When Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary fleets were about to sink, he resorted to the magic wand of offering positions and rewards. He told his diehard followers: "Whoever accomplishes" the counter-revolutionary "task" of coup d'etat set by him would be made "a founding father." In fact, nothing of this could save them from their doom.

Lin Piao used "official positions, emoluments, favors" as bait to induce those more deeply influenced by the idea of bourgeois right to leave the revolutionary ranks and degenerate into a special class betraying the dictatorship of the proletariat and proletarian interests, into "social forces" in support of their counter-revolutionary coup d'etat. As Lenin pointed out: "Capitalism is intent on dividing the workers so that a handful of upper-level elements in the working class may ally themselves with the bourgeoisie." ("Third Congress of All-Russia Soviet of Worker's, Soldier's and Peasant's Deputies")

As to the broad masses of the laboring people, Lin Piao, like members of all exploiting classes, wanted to keep them at the lowest stratum of society to be exploited and oppressed. To Lin Piao, the laboring people could only "work" and "till the land" for them, providing them food and clothing, and must not impair the interests of a handful of vampires like them. Lin Piao asked people to copy the blood-stained phrase "whoever offends his superiors shall be punished" from a pile of old paper and regarded it as "severe discipline" (fascist discipline). He wrote: "So that he will not dare commit the mistake again, and others dare not follow his example." This meant that violence was to be used to oppress people's resistance and struggle. Lin Piao and his gang in their program for a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat "Outline of the 'Project 571'" laid it down that the laboring people must "abide by and support" their "order" of class oppression, and that violations would be "severely sanctioned." A fascist dictatorship was to be introduced.

Like all the Confucian worshipping and treacherous reactionaries in modern China, Lin Piao was an arrogant "master" before the Chinese people but a condescending slave-servant in front of the foreign imperialists. The relationship between a handful of them and the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists was one of rank subordination, between those who sold themselves as running dogs and those who purchased them. Willing to play the child emperor under the Soviet revisionists' "nuclear umbrella" Lin Piao instructed people to copy Mencius' saying, "A small state is no more shameful in learning from a big state than a student in learning from his teacher" and hung it up on the wall as a daily reminder.

Lin Piao's doings were imbued with the same spirit as the gradation system and related thinking of all the exploiting classes in history. The historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat shows that after the proletariat has seized state power, the question of whether to create conditions to gradually reduce and eventually abolish bourgeois right and class distinctions or to extend them without limit is an important question in the struggle between Marxism and revisionism.

In "The Civil War in France" which Marx wrote to sum up the historical experience of the Paris Commune, it was stated that state functions in a society ruled by an exploiting class were "monopolized by a special class trained" for them, whereas the Commune "thoroughly eradicated the gradation system of the state and replaced the overlords riding roughshod over the people with civil servants that could be dismissed at any time." Marx warmly praised the Commune for taking all sorts of measures to eliminate the state system of gradation of rank.

Lenin attached great importance to the experience summed up by Marx, holding that the proletariat could and should do a clean job of uprooting all the remnants of privilege systems and the "officer system" that still existed in the state structure. After the October Revolution, Lenin adopted many measures to restrict bourgeois right and reduce class distinctions. In his book "On the Grain Tax" which he wrote a few years before his death, Lenin stated: "We have never been afraid of going against the bureaucratic system of rank, of 'being demoted,'.... we have not 'bureaucratized' ourselves to such an extent that one would 'feel embarrassed' if he were transferred to the lower level." Lenin's views and measures played an important role in consolidating the young Soviet government and smashing the restoration plots of the enemy at home and abroad.

After its rise to power, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique completely abandoned Lenin's theories and policies, betrayed the dictatorship of the proletariat, extended the class differences without limit, and practiced everywhere a rigid system of gradation. Class distinctions in Soviet society are particularly manifested in the opposition between a handful of the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie and the broad laboring masses. Their relationship is one of oppression of one class by another. This handful of vampires wilfully devour social wealth and exploit the laboring people. Merely by means of high salaries, bonuses and allowances, they receive an income dozens of times or even a hundred times higher than those of the ordinary working people. In addition, they take advantage of their privileges to turn public property into private possession, practicing corruption and accepting bribes. They have amassed ever increasing amounts of commodities and money and live a luxurious and extravagant life. In the Soviet Union today, state power is held in the hands of a handful of bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie. The sons and daughters of the October Revolution -- the proletariat and the broad masses of laboring people of the Soviet Union -- have again been forced into the lowest stratum of society. Marx and Engels pointed out: "If the proletariat, now at the lowest stratum of society today, does not bombard and destroy the whole of the superstructure that makes up officialdom, it cannot raise its head nor throw out its chest." ("Communist Manifesto") Only by rising up in a heroic struggle can the Soviet people re-establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and advance along the path indicated by Lenin.

Chairman Mao, having summed up the experience, both positive and negative, of the dictatorship of the proletariat in foreign countries as well as our own, has proposed a series of measures to combat and prevent revisionism and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. He points

out: "The cadres of our Party and state are ordinary workers and not overlords riding roughshod over the people." "The most basic requirement for the reform of state organs is to maintain close ties with the masses." Our cadres must be both "officials" and common people; they should frequently take part in collective productive labor and oppose bureaucratic styles and all manifestations of privileged thought and behavior. Attention should be paid to selecting cadres from among workers and peasants with practical experience. The worker and peasant masses have the right to take part in the management of enterprises, managing the superstructure and the state. Chairman Mao also points out: "Our country at present practices a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade scale, and so forth. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat." All these are of the utmost importance in preventing Party and state cadres from forming a special class riding on the people, in preventing the emergence of a new privileged stratum.

Another vitally important matter is how our Party and state cadres should treat their own children. It must be kept in mind that we do not represent the exploiting classes but the proletariat and the laboring people, and that if we do not place strict demands on our children, they too may degenerate and stage a bourgeois comeback and the property and power of the proletariat may be recaptured by the bourgeoisie. We should regard our children as the upcoming generation to succeed to the revolution, and not as our private property. We should train them into successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause and not into a new aristocratic stratum above others. We should place strict demands on our children and let them go among the vast laboring masses to weather the storms and see the world, to temper themselves and grow up in the midst of revolutionary storm. This is a long-term plan for the proletarian revolutionary cause.

In "Communist Manifesto" Marx and Engels pointed out: "The Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas." The caste system is a product of traditional ownership, that is,private ownership. The caste ideology, as a traditional concept, has chained the minds of people for a long time. We must, from the plane of the struggle between the Marxist and revisionist lines, thoroughly destroy the caste ideology, criticize Lin Piao's crimes in restoring capitalism, restrict bourgeois right, gradually reduce the class differences, persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and strive for the realization of communism!

* * *

It Is Still Necessary To Make An Effort To Fight

- Some understanding from studying "On the Question of Agricultural Cooperation"

by

CCP Shanghai County Committee

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 7, July 18, 1975)

Twenty years have elapsed since the publication of the Marxist work "On the Question of Agricultural Cooperation."

Twenty years ago the great leader Chairman Mao in his report "On the Question of Agricultural Cooperation" pointed out: "Bring about, step by step, the socialist transformation of the whole of agriculture.... Eliminate the rich-peasant economy and the individual economy in the countryside so that all the rural people will become increasingly well off together." For the last 20 years and more, the five hundred million peasants in our country have marched in broad strides along the road of agricultural co-operation, causing the poor and backward old rural outlook to change drastically. Take our Shanghai county for example. Its total rural population in 1974 was 399,243, but in that same year the gross revenues of the economies at the three levels -- the commune, brigade and team -- in the county had reached 249,450,000 yuan. Particularly it should be pointed out that when the people's communes were first established in 1958, the gross output value of the economy at the commune level in the whole of the county was 9,920,000 yuan; by 1974 the gross income of the commune-level economy in the whole of the county reached 79,440,000 yuan. This meant a sharp increase of more than seven times in 17 years. The continuous growth of the collective economic strength has further consolidated the rural socialist position. From their own personal experiences, the broad masses of peasants have come to realize more clearly than ever that the road of agricultural collectivization is the only glittering road.

How has our county taken the road of agricultural collectivization? Basically, guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, it has continued to change the old relations of production and built up and strengthened the socialist relations of production, thereby opening up a broad path for the development of the productive forces.

The land reform movement initiated shortly after the liberation in our county was a major change in the relations of production. However, despite the fact that the peasants had received their share of the land and the production level was higher than it was before the land reform, the small peasant economy under the system of individual ownership, like "dew on the grass and frost on the roof," was dispersed and backward, hamstringing the development of the productive forces. In those days the average per-mow output of grain was less than 500 catties, that of cotton only 20 catties, and that of rapeseed around 80 catties. If the productive forces were to be further released, it would be necessary to continue to reform the

relations of production. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the broad masses of peasants in our county gradually established and strengthened the system of collective ownership by the laboring peasants -- from mutual-aid teams with certain rudimentary features of socialism where they operated individually but labored together to the primary cooperatives of a semi-socialist character where they pooled their land in the form of shares, operated together and received "bonuses from land and labor" and then to the higher cooperatives of a complete socialist character where they abolished bonuses from their shares of land and practiced "distributing according to work done." As a result, the relations of production underwent a qualitative leap. In 1956, the county suffered from grave natural disasters, but by relying on the strength of the higher cooperatives, its average per-mow output of grain rose by 80 percent and that of cotton by nearly two times compared with a comparable period of individual operations, and the gross income of the whole year was still higher than that of 1955, which was a year of bumper harvest.

But the fact that the organizational scale and operating scope of the higher cooperatives were still relatively small and their degree of collectivization was still low posed an obstacle to the further development of productive forces. As Chairman Mao pointed out: "Certain problems in respect to the system of ownership in the completely socialized cooperatives must continue to be solved." The movement to set up people's communes in 1958 brought about further changes in the relations of production, giving a strong impetus to the development of agricultural production. In 1958, as compared with 1956, the county's average per-mow output of grain rose by 16 percent, more than two times that of individual operations; the average per-mow output of cotton rose by nearly 100 percent, 4.5 times that of individual operations; the average per-mow output of rapeseed was more than 1.5 times that of individual operations. These remarkable achievements fully testified to the huge superiority of the people's commune.

"The great proletarian cultural revolution is a powerful motive force for the development of our country's social productive forces." Thanks to the great proletarian cultural revolution, the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao have been destroyed, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line has gone deeper into people's hearts, the poor and lower-middle peasants have mounted the stage of struggle-criticism-transformation in the superstructure, and the various proletarian policies have been further implemented. In this way, the inter-relationships among men have been further adjusted, the socialist enthusiasm of the broad peasant masses has been brought into full play, and agricultural production has developed at an unprecedented speed. In 1973, the county's per-mow output of grain doubled the target laid down in the National Program for Agricultural Development, and in 1974 it reached 1,632 catties, an increase of 43 percent over 1965 before the great cultural revolution, an increase of more than 100 percent compared with the period of cooperativization, and 3.5 times the amount of individual operations. The average per-mow output of cotton was 119 catties, an increase of over 100 percent compared with the period of cooperativization and six times the amount of individual operations. The average per-mow output of vegetables was 110 tan, an increase of 20 percent over the cooperativization period, and 1.5 times that of individual operations. Some 270,000 head of live pigs were sold, an increase of 3.4 times

over the cooperativization period, and equivalent to a hundred times the number sold during the time of individual operations. Following the continuous development of production and the growth of the collective economy, the peasants' living standards have continued to rise. In 1974 the county's average per capita income rose by more than 100 percent over the cooperativization period, with the rural deposits in the whole of the county topping the one hundred million mark. Take Haoshang brigade of "July 1" Commune as an example. Haoshang village where the brigade is located originally had 17 households of poor peasants, and in the second year after the land reform there were still nine households with difficulties. At the time of the higher cooperatives, eight of these households had noticeably improved their economic conditions, but they were still far from well off. By 1974, seven of these eight households attained the status of well-to-do households. At the same time none of the households in the entire brigade had to go into debt. Facts thus forcefully refuted the lies cooked up by Lin Piao and his gang that "the peasants are short of food and clothing," while fully confirming that "the socialist road is the only way out for China's agriculture."

Both the theory and practice of proletarian dictatorship tell us that changing the relations of production provides a strong impetus to the development of the productive forces. But having made this change absolutely does not mean that we can sit back and relax. After the socialist transformation in respect to the system of ownership of the means of production was basically completed in our country, Chairman Mao pointed out explicitly: "The socialist relations of production have been established and are compatible with the development of the productive forces; however, they are still not very perfect and in some imperfect respects they come into conflict with the development of the productive forces." This demands that, while continuing to change the relations of production, we consolidate and perfect the socialist relations of production. Particularly for those "shortcomings" and "defects" left over from the old society, they should be "restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The system of three-level ownership with the production team as the basic accounting unit as presently practiced by rural people's communes in our country is compatible with the level of develpment of the agricultural productive forces at the present stage, and has effectively promoted the rapid development of the collective economy of the people's communes. Judging by the gross incomes of the three-level economies in our county, in 1974 it grew by 2.6 times over 1962; in other words, the gross income of the three-level economies in our county now is higher than the combined gross incomes of three-level economies of three and a half counties the size of Shanghai county. However, things are still not very perfect, and particularly following the further development of the production scale, there still exist contradictions and incompatibilities between the economy of the collective ownership and the economy of the whole-people ownership, among the ownerships at three levels within the collective economy, between the economy of the collective ownership and the economy of individual ownership, and between the superstructure and the economic base. If these problems are not solved or are solved unsatisfactorily, the socialist system of ownership may be eroded or even disintegrated, the socialist enthusiasm

of the broad masses of commune members affected, and the further development of the productive forces hindered.

In our socialist state of proletarian dictatorship, the fact that the situation of co-existence of collective ownership and whole-people ownership cannot be basically changed within a short time makes it necessary for our country to practice the commodity system at present. Therefore, in the spheres of production and exchange bourgeois right and the influence of the idea of bourgeois right inevitably still exist. For instance, the production and economic activities of the overwhelming majority of communes and brigades in our county are conducted strictly according to state plans. But in a small number of communes and brigades the tendency to stress cash crops and slight grain crops and to promote sideline production at the expense of agriculture is present. In some vegetable growing areas there is the tendency to "grow according to prices" and "send to the market according to prices." Some commune- and brigade-operated enterprises, instead of being oriented toward the countryside and serving agriculture, engage in one-sided pursuit of profit, doing more of those things which give them a big profit and less of those which give them a small profit, and doing nothing at all when they can gain no profit. In the matter of distribution, some communes and brigades have adopted the irrational methods of high work points, high welfare payments and high subsidies. If such trends are not supervised and restricted, they would disrupt the state plans, erode the thinking of the masses, harm the collective economy, and weaken the alliance of workers and peasants. Having studied the theory of proletarian dictatorship has made us see that if we are to solve these contradictions properly, we must adhere to the Party's basic line as the key link, conduct socialist education among the cadres and commune members, strengthen the concept of socialist planning, and execute in an overall way the policy of "seeking overall development with grain as the key link." We must grasp not only grain but also cotton; we must observe the principle that in vegetable growing areas "the main emphasis is put on vegetables" and in areas where grain and vegetable crops are grown "grain output should be increased while preserving the vegetable acreage." In the meantime, the greatest possible effort should be made to grasp well subsidiary occupations such as pig breeding, aquatic production, and breeding of domestic fowls in order to supply the city with more non-staple foodstuffs. In this respect, the commune- and brigade-operated enterprises under the control of the Party committee of Hsinching Commune in our county have created three good experiences: namely, to keep to the orientation well and serve agriculture; to run the welfare scheme well without high work points, high welfare payments and high subsidies; to manage labor power well and appropriately control enterprise personnel to guarantee supply of manpower to the front-line of agriculture; and so forth. In short, we must, on the basis of investigation and study, sum up the experiences, "gradually seek out more appropriate forms," prudently handle the various contradictions between the collective ownership and the whole-people ownership, and continue to perfect the socialist relations of production.

Since the beginning of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the three-level economies of people's communes have developed with rapidity. In 1974, compared with 1970 ,the gross income of the commune level grew by

more than two times, that of the brigade level by nearly four times, and that of the team level by 17 percent. However, an analysis of the economic revenues of our county shows that in 1974 the income of the commune level accounted for 31.9 percent of the combined income of the three-level economies; that of the brigade level, 17.2 percent; and that of the team level 50.9 percent. The incomes of the commune and brigade levels combined were still less than half of the total, and in particular the economy of the brigade level is still relatively weak. Speaking of the differences between poor and rich, in 1974, the income of a commune with the highest average per capita income was 65 percent higher than that of a commune with the lowest average per capita income; the income of a brigad e with the highest per capita income was 1.3 time higher than that of a brigade with the lowest average per capita income; and the income of a production team with the highest average per capita income was 2.7 times higher than that of a team with the lowest average per capita income. These facts show that in the present circumstances where our country's level of development of agricultural production is still relatively low, imbalances in development and the existence of the differences between poor and rich within the collective economy may be said to be unavoidable. Today, we must continue to consolidate and develop the economy at the production team level. However, in order to promote balanced development among production teams, we should, on the basis of developing the production team's economy, systematically and appropriately develop the economies at the brigade and commune levels. Particularly in the case of those brigades and communes where the economy of the production team has developed relatively fast and has a relatively strong foundation, there is a greater need to promptly grasp the development of the economies at the brigade and commune levels. Practice proves: When the economies at the commune and brigade levels have grown and expanded, conditions and forces will be made available to help the poor teams to change the situation -- "the tide is so low that the boat cannot be turned around."

Here there is a question of how a commune or brigade can help the poor teams. Such assistance cannot take the egalitarian form: to rob the rich to aid the poor. Nor is it permissible to use money or materials to make uncompensated allocation to the poor teams in order to directly raise the distribution level of commune members. This is because doing so would cause poor teams to have the idea of relying on others. Assistance from a commune or brigade to a poor team should be rendered in such a way that the strength of the collective economy of the commune and brigade is used to help the poor teams to improve their production teams, such as opening up canals, building roads, and erecting bridges, so that the poor teams can better develop production through self-reliance. Mach'iao Commune in our county has in the last few years used a huge sum of more than a hundred thousand yuan for building two pumping stations, opening up waterways and building highways for five brigades located in low-lying areas. This has enabled the brigades to resist drought and waterlogging and to have a smooth flow of boats and vehicles. Once production conditions are improved, agricultural output will rise fairly quickly. The No. 5 production team of Hungssu brigade of Hungch'iao Commune had 20 mow of low-lying fields and lean fields. The small size and weak strength of the team

prevented it from transforming these fields, with the result that its per-mow output of vegetables was 40 tan less than that of a neighboring high-yield team. Later, the brigade helped the team to improve the lean fields and fill the low-lying area, and its vegetable production has since gradually caught up with that of high-yield teams. At the same time, so far as certain poor teams themselves are concerned, they must be urged not to rely on outside help but, instead, to rely on their own efforts and strive hard to improve agriculture so as to change themselves from backward into advanced teams.

In the Chinese countryside at present a small amount of individual economy is still retained. Judging by the scope of our county, this part of the economy includes commune members' private plots and family subsidiary occupations (breeding of domestic fowls and animals and handicrafts) and five kinds of artisans who operate individually. As to this private economy, if it is handled and guided properly, it may have the effect of improving the livelihood of the commune members and activating the rural trade fairs and become a necessary supplement to the socialist economy, provided that the collective economy has the absolute superiority. However, if this private economy is not restricted or is handled improperly, owing to the existence of commodity production and exchange through money, it may have the negative effect of eroding the thinking of the masses and undermining the collective economy and become a hotbed and soil for the growth of capitalist spontaneous forces. For this reason, with a view to consolidating and developing the socialist system of collective ownership, we must, on the one hand, restrict this private economy to the scope policy permits and, on the other, must not permit the private economy which conforms to policy and regulations to be abolished at will. The serious question is the education of the peasantry. The capitalist spontaneous tendencies in the countryside should mainly be controlled strictly by strengthening the propagation of the Party's basic line and providing the necessary education and guidance. If only socialist justice prevails, the capitalist ill winds will lose their market. However, certain comrades of ours do not believe in the power of the Party's political and ideological education. In regard to those things which policy permits but which must be restricted to a definite scope, they would either keep their hands off completely or else ban them altogether. This is because they lack dialectics. On this issue, we must clearly distinguish between two types of contradictions; while persevering in education, we should, on the basis of Party policy and taking the interests of the state, the collective and the individual into concurrent account, strengthen the supervision and control over the private economy, adopt certain restrictive measures, and guide them /individual producers/ to take the path of socialist collectivization. Rural people's communes should also, proceeding from the need to give every convenience to the masses, organize service teams and send them to the villages, set up rural handicraft repair networks and so forth so as to close all loopholes that may possibly lead to the emergence of capitalism. Haoshang brigade of "July 1" Commune has since the "four cleans-up" movement organized the individual five kinds of artisans, thereby not only giving convenience to the masses and increasing social products but also transforming the individual producers and reinforcing the rural socialist position.

Owing to the continuous reform of the relations of production and the rapid development of the productive forces, certain links of the superstructure have been further revealed which cannot conform to the development of the economic base. This is shown in the most acute form in the fact that agrotechnical forces in the countryside at present considerably lag behind the needs of the developing situation. Judging by the conditions of our county, at present it has more than 50,000 farm machines, large, medium-sized and small; 93 percent of its farmland is now plowed by machine, and the area irrigated by machine and electric power accounts for over 98 percent of the total. However, in respect to operation of machinery, repair and maintenance, fostering of fine strains of seeds and scientific farming, much needs to be done in order to satisfy the needs of the development of agricultural production. For example, when machine parts are worn out, "iron oxen" /tractors/ can do nothing but sleep in the warehouse. When some machines break down, they have to be brought to the county town for repair, and this may take days with adverse effects on agricultural production. Therefore, the poor and lower-middle peasants urgently demand building their own technical forces and training "indigenous technicians" self-reliantly. At present some communes and brigades have linked up with state-operated factories in training technicians either by sending them out or by having instructors brought in to teach them. Some commune-operated farm machinery plants and tractor stations have held short-term training classes, and by the method of mobile instructions, help brigades and teams train their technical forces; some, by the method of having masters take in apprentices, train tractor drivers who will know not only how to drive but also repair and service the machines for the brigades and teams. These are good methods for developing self-reliantly agricultural science and techniques and for training rural technical forces, so that the superstructure will continue to adapt to the development of the economic base. These methods should be upheld and popularized. However, there are also quite a few communes and brigades where the leadership lacks a sufficient understanding of the need to continuously adjust and solve the contradictions between the superstructure and the economic base. They are not good at grasping the revolution in the sphere of the superstructure, they are ideologically Right-inclined and conservative; they stretch their hands upward and rely on outside assistance. This state of affairs must be changed with effort in the future. According to our county's practical experience, in order to develop agricultural science and techniques, we must of course persist in taking the road of self-reliance and arduous struggle, but at the same time we also require all-out assistance from the superstructure and various industrial departments.

The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything. To persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, to continue to solve the various contradictions in respect to the relations of production, to develop the national economy, to speed up modernization of our country's agriculture -- this, in the final analysis, rests on who holds the power of leadership and what line is executed. We must seriously study the theory of proletarian dictatorship and build the leading groups at all levels in the countryside into revolutionized fighting bastions implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Judging by the conditions of our county, there is still a long way to go

before achieving this goal, and this is a major strategic task that we must seriously strive to fulfill from now on.

Twenty years ago Chairman Mao exhorted us: "The broad masses of peasants are willing to gradually take the socialist road under Party leadership..... The Party is capable of leading the peasants to embark on the socialist road." Looking back at the past and forward to the future, we are full of pride and confidence in our inevitable victory. Under the correct leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, we shall surely be able -- in the continuing struggle to solve the contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base -- to further restrict bourgeois right, narrow the three major differences gradually, and realize in an all-round manner the modernization of our agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology before the end of this century so that our national economy will join the advanced ranks of the world.

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Firmly Keep in Mind the Historical Mission of the Working Class

by

Jen Chih-kao (任 志 高)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No.7, July 18, 1975)

More than a hundred years ago, when the sparks of the proletarian revolution were just appearing over the horizon in Europe, Marx and Engels in "Communist Manifesto" declared proudly: "The extermination of the bourgeoisie is as inevitable as the victory of the proletariat." During the past hundred years or so, in order to accomplish this great historical mission, proletarians the world over have waged a uniquely brilliant struggle.

The struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie dates back to the time when the former first came into existence. However, the proletariat's full awareness of its historical mission was not achieved from the beginning, but in a process of development during which it transformed itself from a "class in itself" into a "class for itself." The proletariat's knowledge of capitalism initially did not go beyond its perceptual phase, so that, though exploited and oppressed by capitalists, they were unable to discover from the capitalist relations of production the reason behind their poverty, which they attributed to the adoption of machinery and enslavement by individual factory owners. At that time the proletariat as a class in itself was still unable to recognize its own historical mission. Struggle waged by workers in the early periods was usually spontaneous struggle waged against individual capitalists directly exploiting them. They could not oppose the capitalists as a class. Struggle also took the form of primitive struggle -- burning of plant buildings, destruction of machines and physical assault on factory owners. With the development of industry and the ever growing ranks of the proletariat, the interests and conditions of the working class tended to become ever more consistent. Capitalist competition and exploitation threw all the workers to the brink of starvation. Workers began to unite with and support each other and wage a common struggle. By the end of the 18th century, trade union organizations appeared successively in Britain and other West European countries, and launched economic struggle in the form of strikes. In 1831 and 1834, two worker uprisings erupted in Lyon; from 1836 to 1848, British workers launched the chartist movement; and in 1844, Silesian workers staged an uprising in Germany. These uprisings indicated that the working class had mounted the stage of history independently as a class, that the degree of its consciousness had risen greatly. But in the absence of revolutionary theory and the leadership of a proletarian political party, the working class as such was still unable to understand the objective laws of social development, nor could it grasp the future of revolutionary development, hence the workers' movement at that time was still spontaneous in nature. Not until the revolutionary teachers of the proletariat Marx and Engels summed up scientifically the experience gained through protracted struggle of the proletariat and produced Marxist theories with which to

educate and arm the proletariat was "the proletariat made to understand the nature of capitalist society, the relations of exploitation among social classes, and the historical tasks of the proletariat." It was then that the proletariat really became "a class for itself." Under the leadership of the proletarian political party, it initiated an epoch in which it had to consciously fight for the accomplishment of its own historical mission. The process of development through which the proletariat turned itself from a class "in itself" to one "for itself" showed that only under the leadership of its own political party and the guidance of Marxist theory could it fully apprehend its historical mission and carry out conscious struggle for the fulfillment of this mission.

In our country, the founding of the Chinese Communist Party was a symbol of the transformation of the Chinese working class from a class "in itself" to one "for itself." Under the Party's leadership, the working class in alliance with other revolutionary classes overthrew the three big mountains weighing on the Chinese people, seized state power and rose to be the ruling class. However, this was but the beginning of the revolutionary transformation from capitalist to communist society, "the first step of the workers' revolution" as "Communist Manifesto" stated. In order to accomplish its historical mission, the proletariat must persist in its all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, and through this dictatorship abolish all class distinctions, all relations of production arising out of these distinctions and all social relations corresponding with these relations of production, and change all concepts born of these social relations. This is a great undertaking the proletariat must accomplish in the whole of the historical epoch of socialism.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a dictatorship of one class over another. For an individual worker, he can become a conscious revolutionary fighter only when he makes his appearance as a member of a class, relates anything that he does with the historical mission of the proletariat, and resolutely carries out the basic line of the Party. The history of the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat has shown that no single worker can spontaneously generate proletarian consciousness. Such class consciousness, as Lenin pointed out, "can only be instilled into the workers from without, namely, outside the sphere of economic struggle, outside the scope of relations between the workers and factory owners." In capitalist society, workers, since they directly experience only exploitation and oppression by individual capitalists, can only sense their conflicts with individual capitalists without becoming aware of the conflict between themselves and the capitalist system as a whole. Proletarian consciousness can only be generated by a Marxist observation of social relations among men "outside the scope of relations between workers and factory owners," on the plane of the conflict between two classes, and by summing up the entire experience of proletarian revolutionary practice. When this class consciousness is "instilled" into the masses of workers, they will realize that exploitation in capitalist society is exploitation of one class by another, hence consciously fighting for the overthrow of bourgeois rule. Likewise, under socialist historical conditions, such class consciousness also cannot emerge spontaneously. That is why people often say: Plain and simple class feelings cannot replace the consciousness of class and line struggles. Only by earnestly studying Marxism-

Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in struggle can we become workers with class consciousness, willingly contributing our all to continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Lenin said: "Since it is impossible for the worker masses to create their own independent ideological system in the course of their movement, the question can only be this: It is either the bourgeois ideological system or the socialist ideological system." The socialist ideological system reflects the fundamental interests of the working class, and workers find it easiest to accept and comprehend socialist ideology. But we should also see that the root of the bourgeois ideological system was created much earlier than the socialist ideological system, and what's more, that the bourgeois ideological system has been processed far more completely. In capitalist society the bourgeoisie still possesses far more propaganda media than the proletariat, at all times "spontaneously and most forcefully coercing the workers to accept it." In socialist society, although the bourgeoisie has been overthrown, yet this class still exists there, and these people are still around. And because socialist society has just emerged from the capitalist society, it is inevitably stamped "with the birthmarks of the old society" in every respect. In it, bourgeois right and the bourgeois idea reflecting such right still exist. Therefore, for every comrade within the ranks of the workers, in order that the historical mission of his own class may be accomplished, he must,while remolding the objective world, make every effort to remold his own subjective world, continue to resist the corruption and encirclement of bourgeois ideas, and use socialist ideas to overcome bourgeois ideas.

Chairman Mao pointed out long ago: "During the process of building a socialist society, everyone needs remolding. The exploiters and the laborers need remolding. Who says the working class doesn't need reform?" The working class does not live in a vacuum, because the class contradictions and class struggle existing in society are bound to be reflected within the working class, where all kinds of non-proletarian ideas may also emerge. Besides, with the development of socialist revolution and construction, the ranks of workers have also continued to grow and expand. As an example, take Shanghai's industrial, transport and capital construction departments. In 1949, the total number of workers in these branches stood at about 620,000; by 1974, the figure had risen to 1,700,000. The growth of the workers ranks indicates the growth of the strength of the working class. On the other hand, however, the proportion of intellectuals and elements of other classes within the ranks of the workers has also been on the increase. Take a shipyard in the shipbuilding industry for example. In the early days of the liberation, intellectuals and elements of other classes made up only about 10 percent; by 1974, intellectuals (mainly graduates from universities and colleges) and elements of other classes (mainly individual laborers transferred to the workers ranks) accounted for about 18 percent, with young workers making up 50 percent of this. The shipbuilding industry is an industry with a relatively long history in Shanghai. In such new industrial branches as precision instruments and meters, machine tools, handicrafts and light industry the proportions

of intellectuals and young workers are even higher. This shows that following the development of revolution and construction, the condition of the workers ranks is changing. On the one hand, the working class is continuing to draw in new blood, but at the same time, it is inevitably bringing in certain things of the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie. The Chinese working class is the main force of the Chinese revolution and has glorious revolutionary traditions. Today, each of us in the workers ranks should preserve and promote the revolutionary tradition, seriously study the works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao, adhere steadfastly to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, consciously resist the material temptations of the bourgeoisie and the erosion of the idea of bourgeois right, make every effort to rid ourselves of all non-proletarian thoughts and styles (including the overcoming of bourgeois factionalism), unite with all people willing to make revolution and strengthen their transformation in struggle so as to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end.

The proletariat can fulfill the historical mission of exterminating all exploiting classes only under the leadership of its own vanguard -- the political party of the proletariat. "The Communist Party is the highest form of organization of the proletariat. The function of leadership of the proletariat is realized through the leadership of the Communist Party." The history of the Chinese revolution has proved that without the Chinese Communist Party, there would have been no victory of the Chinese revolution. Every member of the working class must strengthen his Party concept and make his own contributions under the leadership of the Party to socialist revolution and construction.

Marx once stated: "Liberation of the working class is conditional on the abolition of all classes." From the Marxist viewpoint, only by liberating the whole of mankind can the proletariat ultimately free itself. Today, history has placed this great historical mission on the shoulders of the proletariat and its political party. This is the final struggle. Under Party leadership and the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, let us strive for the realization of this supreme ideal of mankind. The bright red sun is bound to shine all over the globe! The internationale will certainly come true!

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Promote the Party's Fine Traditional Style of Work

- Some understanding from studying "On Coalition Government"

by

Ku Shan (谷珊)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 7, July 18, 1975)

Our Party has a fine traditional style of work. On this, Chairman Mao made an incisive generalization in his political report "On Coalition Government" delivered at the 7th Party National Congress in 1945. He said: "Armed with Marxist-Leninist theory, the Communist Party of China has brought the new style of work to the Chinese people, a style of work which essentially entails integrating theory with practice, forging close links with the masses and practicing self-criticism." These three major styles of work were born of prolonged revolutionary practice of our Party under Chairman Mao's leadership; they are the heirlooms of the proletarian revolution. Today, during the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to study once again Chairman Mao's relevant thesis in this respect and to clearly understand the close connection between the promotion of the Party's fine traditional style of work and the implementation of the Party's line will help us raise our consciousness of the need to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

That the Party's three major styles of work are salient features distinguishing our Party from all other political parties is primarily because they embody the theoretical basis of the Party's guiding thought and the character of the Party. Chairman Mao said: "From its very beginning, our Party has based itself on the theory of Marxism-Leninism." This dictates the need for our Party members to put serious study of Marxism-Leninism in the first place. The history of our Party has been a history of integration between the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. As Chairman Mao stated: "Our Party has grown and advanced through staunch struggle against every manifestation of dogmatism and empiricism, which runs counter to this principle." Though manifested in different forms, dogmatism and empiricism both revise Marxism-Leninism and run counter to the principle of integrating theory with practice. Summing up the historical experience of the two-line struggle within the Party, Chairman Mao stressed: "We must enable the Party's leading cadres at all levels to understand that close integration of theory and practice is a hallmark distinguishing our Party from all other political parties." This shows that the aim of our studying Marxism-Leninism is to use it to guide revolutionary practice. The sole purpose of mastering it is to apply it. When studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat today, we must get clear on the question of proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie both in theory and practice. If we fail to link theory with practice in studying theory or if we only talk about it and do not practice it, we actually espouse an extremely bad style of work running counter to the Party's fine traditional style of work.

Chairman Mao said: "Another hallmark distinguishing our Party from all other political parties is that we have very close ties with the broadest masses of the people." Our Party is a proletarian political party, a party consciously seeking the welfare of the overwhelming majority of the people in China and the world. Therefore, "the supreme test of the words and deeds of a Communist is whether they conform with the highest interests and enjoy the support of the overwhelming majority of the people." Every Communist should serve the people wholeheartedly and strive not to estrange himself from the masses even for a single moment. In the years of harsh struggle in the Chingkang Mountains, the revolution fighters drew a clear line of distinction between them and the Kuomintang reactionary troops by refusing to take a single needle or thread from the masses; during the War of Liberation, by refusing to take a single apple of the masses, a small matter in itself, they made the masses realize that "our own army has come to us!" After nation-wide victory, the vast numbers of Party members and cadres kept up the good style of forging close ties with the masses. This caused the masses to say with warmth: "Our men of the Red Army and Eighth Route Army have come!" In 1945 Chairman Mao admonished us: "See to it that no comrade at any post is divorced from the masses. We should teach every comrade to love the people and listen attentively to the voice of the masses; to identify himself with the masses wherever he goes and, instead of standing above them, to immerse himself among them." Today, thirty years later, we still feel this teaching of Chairman Mao's fresh and warm. Under the historical condition in which our Party is the government party and under the circumstances where there still exists bourgeois right in respect to the relations among men, we must guard against the tendency to divorce ourselves from the masses. We must link our hearts with the hearts of the masses at all times.

The Party's fine traditional style of work was born, shaped and developed in the midst of the struggle between the two classes and the two lines. The promotion of the Party's fine style of work must likewise go through struggle. Chairman Mao has consistently attached immense importance to ideological education and ideological struggle within the Party. He said: "Conscious practice of self-criticism is also a hallmark distinguishing our Party from all other political parties." We should act in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, persistently develop criticism and self-criticism, and struggle against all undesirable styles of work. In encouraging criticism and self-criticism, our aim is to "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones and cure the sickness to save the patient." These are Marxist principles and policies put forward by Chairman Mao after summing up the historical experience of inner-Party struggle; they are also correct and effective methods for resolving contradictions within the Party and among the people. Our Party's various rectification campaigns have been conducted under the guidance of the principle of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient." Chairman Mao said: "Countless revolutionary martyrs have laid down their lives in the interests of the people, and our hearts are filled with pain as we the living think of them -- can there be any personal interest, then, that we would not sacrifice or any error that we would not discard?" This

incisively underlines the dialectical relationship between promotion of the people's well-being and the development of criticism and self-criticism. So long as we persist in doing what is good and correcting what is bad in the interests of the people and so long as we promptly sweep away the political dust in our minds, we can surely resist all forms of "bourgeois" wind and become conscious proletarian revolutionary fighters.

What kind of style we should stick to has always been directly related to the struggle between the two lines within the Party. For half a century, while leading the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao has always taught our comrades to keep a good style of work and oppose those undesirable styles of work. The historical experience of our Party and the personal experiences of many of our comrades prove that to develop the Party's three major styles of work is an important guarantee for the implementation of the Party's correct line and the fulfillment of its tasks. Now, our country is in an important period of historical development. On the one hand, the socialist cause is triumphantly advancing everywhere; on the other hand, there still exist classes and class struggle, and the possibility of capitalist restoration taking place has not yet vanished. In order to insure that our socialist cause will develop triumphantly along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we must inherit and promote the Party's fine style of work under new historical conditions. To oppose and alter the Party's basic line, agents of the landlord and bourgeois classes within the Party, people like Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, have invariably tried by every means to bring the decadent style of work of the landlord and bourgeois classes into the Party in an attempt to erode the healthy tissue of our Party. The great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius have enabled our Party's three major styles of work to be further promoted. However, the protracted nature of class and line struggles makes the struggle between two types of styles of work necessarily prolonged too. As early as 1942 Chairman Mao had pointed out seriously: "To accomplish the task of overthrowing the enemy, we must complete the task of adjusting the style of work within the Party." In 1945, he again said: "If this task is not settled, all political tasks of the Party cannot be accomplished." Today, we must understand the promotion of the Party's three major styles of work from the plane of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and combating and preventing revisionism, linking it up with the great task of persistently continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

During the period of the Yenan rectification campaign, Chairman Mao said: "Once our Party's style of work is put completely right, the people all over the country will learn from our example. Those outside the Party who have the same kind of bad style will, if they are good and honest people, learn from our example and correct their mistakes, and thus the whole nation will be influenced. So long as our Communist ranks are in good order and march in step, so long as our troops are picked troops and our weapons are good weapons, any enemy, however powerful, can be overthrown." This is a truth repeatedly verified by revolutionary practice. The current movement to study the theory

of the dictatorship of the proletariat has further promoted the Party's fine style of work, criticized all sorts of "bourgeois" wind, effectively enhanced nationwide stability and unity, and further developed the excellent situation of the revolution, thereby rendering the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country still more solid. So long as we bear firmly in mind Chairman Mao's teachings, assiduously study Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's writings on a long-term basis, consciously and persistently promote the Party's fine traditional style of work and develop the excellent situation of stability and unity, we shall surely be able to win still greater victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction.

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Correspondence on Bourgeois Right (Concluded)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 6, June 18, 1975)

VII. Letter from Li Ch'un-hua to Wu Ta-ming

Little Wu:

For the past few days we have been studying the problem of relationship between industry and agriculture under the socialist system. Studying and carrying out investigation made our discussion very lively and heated!

During the discussion Little Chang of our production team held that in our country under the dictatorship of the proletariat, production and exchanges between the two major sectors, industry and agriculture, are carried out under the guidance of state unified plans. Such industrial products as chemical fertilizers and plastic membrane which are needed in the rural areas are not only produced in accordance with state plans, but their prices are gradually adjusted according to the needs of supporting agriculture in order to reduce price differences between industrial and agricultural products and thus promote agricultural production. On the other hand, the development of agriculture has also rendered significant support to industrial production. Thus, the socialist relationship between industry and agriculture is one of mutual support and mutual promotion, and therefore allows no room for the existence of what is called bourgeois right.

But many comrades thought that his understanding wasn't complete. The reason: lowering the price of products in support of agriculture shows that bourgeois right does exist in the mutual relations between industry and agriculture, and that it is being restricted by the state in a planned way. Since there are two different kinds of socialist public ownership differing in the level of development between industry and agriculture, it is still necessary to carry out commodity exchange between industrial and agricultural products, and the inevitable result of this is that bourgeois right comes into play. During the discussion, Old Li, the Party branch secretary of our farm machinery plant told us this story: In 1960, our farm machinery plant planned to trial manufacture a threshing machine, but it needed a machine tool, which, however, was not available in the market. What was to be done? At this moment, a purchasing agent from a state-operated factory in town arrived and, hearing this, struck his chest and said: "No problem. Let me handle this." Sure enough, in two months' time, a new machine tool was delivered. In 1964, our commune launched a "4-cleans-up" movement. It discovered from the invoice that the seller of the machine was a scrap company. This aroused our suspicion. An investigation showed that the machine tool was actually one reported as scrap. The purchasing agent, colluding with a department head of the scrap company, bought the machine for 200 yuan as scrap iron, had it repaired and repainted secretly, filled a blank invoice obtained from the scrap company, and sold the machine as a new one to us for 5,000 yuan. In this way, they reaped a profit of 4,600 yuan and divided it between themselves. After Old Li finished his story, he asked us to find the reason for this occurrence.

With these problems in mind, we studied Chairman Mao's directives. Chairman Mao says: "The mutual relations of production and exchange among the various sectors of the economy are still being gradually established in accordance with socialist principles, and we should gradually seek out more appropriate forms." Everyone shared the view that since the relations of production and exchange between the two major sectors, agriculture and industry, are relations of commodity exchanges under state plans, the machine tool is included among the materials to be allocated according to state plans and should not be freely bought or sold. But precisely due to the existence of commodity exchange relations, that purchasing agent managed to procure an old machine tool through illegal means and make a lot of money out of it. Apparently such mutual relations in the course of production and exchange were no longer socialist relations but were free market capitalist relations. The inevitable result of this would be the destruction of the worker-peasant alliance and the rampant growth of capitalist forces. Although it appeared that a "fair deal" had been struck between the purchasing agent and that department head of the scrap company, the fact is that behind this "fair deal" some capitalist-roaders were passing off scraps for standard goods and made a huge profit. In effect, as long as two different kinds of ownership still exist and the commodity system is still in force, bourgeois right will exist to a serious extent. Such production-exchange relations, reflected in the relations among men, constitute a contradiction based on the identity of interests of the workers and peasants, the two laboring classes. Through the worker-peasant alliance, the proletariat must lead the peasants to take the socialist road, restrict bourgeois right and correctly handle the contradictions between the workers and peasants. The bourgeoisie, on the other hand, endeavors to expand bourgeois right through the commodity exchange channel in order to undermine the worker-peasant alliance and trick the peasants into retreating to the capitalist evil road.

In recent years, with the development of industrial and agricultural production, our commune-operated enterprises have practiced "linking-up between factories and communes." Besides supporting agriculture, they also take on the tasks of producing and processing for some state-run factories, and hence have more contacts with factories in the city. But the spontaneous capitalist forces are very extensive, and influenced by the idea of bourgeois right, some people have got into the habit of bargaining for prices and weights in doing everything. If you ask them to help you solve a production problem, they would ask you to supply them with your local "special products." If you want to "link up" their units in production arrangements, they would ask you to find jobs for their friends in the name of "reciprocity." Our revolutionary comrades are firm in rejecting such "bourgeois" wind. Once, Old Chang, our Party branch deputy secretary, was visited by a relative who said that he could arrange the sale of a batch of construction material to us on the condition that he was allowed to buy some springs processed by our factory to make a sofa at home. Old Chang immediately turned him down and criticized him: "As cadres, we should think twice before we act or speak, whether our words or deeds conform to socialist principles in the interest of the worker-peasant alliance. We should never go for those wicked things of the bourgeoisie."

Little Wu, this small incident has educated me greatly. The mutual relationship between workers and peasants must be guided by socialist principles. If the idea of bourgeois right should turn into a flood here, it will undermine the worker-peasant alliance, sap the collective economy and give bourgeois elements ample room to maneuver. Moreover, owing to the existence of the three major differences, if we do not restrict them but allow such old ideas as "stressing industry and slighting agriculture" and "hankering after city life" to go rampant, the socialist mutual relations will also be destroyed. This is what we've learned from our present study.

Well, let me stop here. I would very much like to know how you people in a state-run factory view this question.

With revolutionary salutations!

Li Ch'un-hua

May 10, 1975

VIII. Letter from Wu Ta-ming to Li Ch'un-hua

Little Li:

I received your letter yesterday afternoon and found it most enlightening.

Within our state-run enterprise there likewise exists the question of continuing to restrict bourgeois right. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the establishment of the socialist public ownership of the means of production "is a great struggle, a great change in the social system and in the mutual relations between men." This great change brought about a new socialist relationship between the leadership and the masses, enabling the proletariat and the laboring people to become the masters of the state and their enterprises. This is essentially different from the old society. But to be really able to correctly handle the mutual relations among men in accordance with socialist principles, we must still go through a long period of struggle. Take the case of our own factory. Owing to the division of labor between manual and mental labor, the existence of bourgeois right is equally inevitable. "Those who labor with their brains govern others; those who labor with their hands are governed by others" -- such an idea of bourgeois right still has a market among some people. Before the great proletarian cultural revolution, our factory, falling victim to Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, at a time practiced the "one-chief system," controlling and restricting the workers' action, deducting their wages and fining them, which rendered the relations among men very abnormal. At that time, even machine tools of the same type had to be classified according to their specifications, and division of work was very rigid. If a worker operating a certain machine took leave, it had to lie idle, for no one else could use it. Whoever violated a "regulation" would be asked to write an explanation and his bonuses would be deducted. In the

matter of technical innovation, workers were required to go through numerous procedures, filling out many forms and sending them to be signed and approved by several offices. Disapproval by one office would mean the abandonment of the project. Of course, to organize large-scale production we can't do without the necessary rules and regulations. But if the workers were bound hand and foot, would we not use the capitalist method of management in dealing with the workers? Fortunately, the great proletarian cultural revolution initiated in response to Chairman Mao's call enabled our factory to undergo a fundamental change in its outlook.

A few days ago I read a most shocking report on industrial management in the Soviet Union. In the "Regulations Governing Socialist State Enterprises" drawn up by the Soviet revisionist Central Committee, it was ruled that "powers relating to production and operating activities are exercised by managers (principal manager and directors) and other responsible persons of the enterprise according to rules of division of duties," that managers have the power to "recruit and dismiss workers," to sell, transfer or lease the means of production of the enterprise, and to dispose of the various "economic incentive funds" allocated to the enterprises by the Soviet revisionist leadership clique. In short, all powers are vested with managers and factory directors appointed by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, while the workers have only the right to be exploited and oppressed. There, the words of the factory directors are "law," and whoever goes against these words "breaks the law." The mutual relations between the leaders of the Soviet revisionist enterprises and the broad masses of workers have been turned completely into capitalist relations between capital and wage labor. There, cash relations, relations of employment and competition govern everything, and socialist ownership has long ago degenerated into a new-type bureaucratic monopoly capitalist ownership. From this negative historical lesson we have learned that after the establishment of the socialist ownership by the whole people, whether to restrict or expand bourgeois right in the mutual relations among men is a big question of whether the socialist system will advance or regress.

The great leader Chairman Mao has always taught us that after the establishment of the socialist system of ownership, we must pay special attention to adjusting the mutual relations among men and restricting bourgeois right. "The Constitution of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company" personally approved by Chairman Mao, the "May 7 Directive", the example of the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant in training technicians from among workers and other socialist new things have all effectively restricted bourgeois right and deeply criticized the idea of bourgeois right. It is only by following the path pointed out by Chairman Mao that the socialist mutual relations can be adjusted and developed continuously and conscientiously and the socialist economic basis consolidated.

It's getting late. I still have a lot to tell you, but the secretary of the Party branch of our factory is making a check of our

dormitory. He asks me to rest early. Our revolutionary big family is warm indeed! Well, I must stop here.

With fighting salutations!

Wu Ta-ming

May 20, 1975

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A Rambling Talk on Differences Between Manual and Mental Labor

by

K'ang Li (康立)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 6, June 18, 1975)

"The Son of Heaven has a high regard for the valiant. Books teach you to be one. Book-reading is the highest calling of all." These verses are found in the first chapter of "Poems of the Child Prodigy," the primer of the feudal classes. See how stark naked it stands in advocating the sharp antagonism between mental and manual labor! But the exploiting classes are standing truth on its head when they take this to be the natural rationale and eternal principle. From the notion that "superior men work with their minds, while mean men work with their strength" as presented by Confucius and Mencius, the reactionary thinkers of the slave-owner class, to the idea that "book-reading is the highest calling of all" as boasted by the feudal intellectuals and to such sayings as "knowledge is strength" or even "knowledge means money and power" as pushed by bourgeois scholars, there is a sinister thread advocating that the sharp antagonism between mental and manual labor reflects nothing but human nature itself. As they see it, if the world were not so, catastrophe would have taken place leading to the doom of the universe.

But is it true that the difference and contradiction between mental and manual labor have all along accompanied the human race? No. Like the contradiction between town and the countryside, it is but a social phenomenon, an historical occurrence at a certain stage of human society, a process inclusive of its birth, development and extinction. Today, it is our responsibility to put right history reversed by the exploiting classes.

In ancient times when mankind was still in a primitive society, every one of our ancestors without exception had to take part in heavy manual labor, either it be hunting or picking fruit. In the case of plowing the soil, everybody had to join in the work since there was essentially no distinction at all between mental and manual labor. The men went up in front to turn up the earth with pointed wooden staffs, the women followed behind to smash the lumps of earth with wooden clubs, and lastly the children used their palms to make the soil fine. Even the chief and leaders of the tribe as members of society had to join in manual labor. As the ancient legends of our country say, the tribal leader Shen Nung "personally tilled the land while his wife wove cloth" -- no privileges, no escape from manual labor, nothing like the "emperor of the earth" that people later exalted him to be. At that time, whoever became a leader of the clan had to not only hold himself responsible for clan affairs, but also be outstanding in fishing, hunting and farming. There was only the obligation to take the lead in labor, and never the right to live on the labor of others. Otherwise, it would mean dismissal and removal from office, and at times even expulsion from the clan or tribe.

Was there any intellectual labor in primitive society? Yes. Ever since the development of language and consciousness by primitive man, there eventually came into being intellectual labor. But at that time, "concepts, thoughts, the intellecual exchanges of people were but the direct outcome of their material relationship." In other words, initially mental labor was directly interwoven with material activity, material exchanges and the language of real life. There was no and could not possibly be any mental laborer who was able to place himself above manual laborers. Under the prevailing conditions in which the level of productivity was extremely low, whom were you to turn to for support if you did not "work with your hands" but merely concentrated on "working with your mind"? It is therefore obvious that primitive culture and art as crystallization of the intellectual activities of primitive man were directly created by the masses of laborers, inseparable from production activities. Take the origin of drawings as an example. In Europe there were successively discovered after the 1840's murals done by primitive men during the late Stone Age in caves of Spain and France: wild buffaloes and elephants drawn with black or red paint, with spears or arrows stuck in their backs as their forelegs bent forward under their reeling weight. Who were the authors of those wall drawings? Certainly not professional artists, but direct producers engaged in fishing and hunting activities for a very long time. And they did not do those murals for the sake of enjoyment, because at a time when people were still finding it very hard to keep their stomachs full, how could anyone have the time to devote himself to such leisurely pursuits? In the eyes of primitive man, those murals were intended as exorcism which was to have assured them of success in their hunt for the beasts pictured on those walls, and constituted an inseparable part of production activities. It may appear as something ridiculous to us today, but for people of those days, it was a matter treated with great seriousness and conviction.

The so-called "mental laborers" in human history appeared with the emergence of classes. Due to the division of labor in society and the development of productive forces, a certain amount of surplus products were made available, and this created the conditions for the emergence of private property and classes. Faced with an increasingly complex social life, clan chieftains, tribal leaders and priests in charge of primitive religious and cultural activities were by then gradually releasing themselves from manual labor and devoted most or even all of their energies to administrative affairs. Subsequently, administrators exclusively dedicated to mental work began to separate themselves from producers. These people used the powers vested in them to turn the property originally commonly owned into their own private property, turning themselves into "mental laborers" living on "manual laborers." During this process of change, mental labor and manual labor finally parted company. As to the written language, it was shaped entirely after the formation of the slave system and promptly monopolized by the slave-owner class. With that, the separation and opposition between mental and manual labor were further consolidated. Later on, with the development of private property and the formation of the state, a large number of administrators and "mental laborers" "stood aloof from the vast majority of the laboring people to form a class divorced from direct productive labor and devoted to the common affairs of society:

labor management, political affairs, law, science, art and so on." Therefore, the earliest intellectual aristocrats in human history consisted mainly of those leaders who divorced themselves from manual labor and stood high above the masses. From then onward, the various realms of the superstructure, that of ideology included, became the hereditary grounds of the exploiting classes.

The separation of mental labor from manual labor was a great step forward under the historical conditions at that time. It should be noted that in primitive society, culture, art and science had not yet attained their independent and integral status, and only by pushing further the division of labor could their development be impelled. "The basis of such division of labor was the major division of work between the masses who devoted themselves strictly to manual labor and a small minority of privileged elements who administered labor, conducted commerce and managed state affairs and later those who devoted themselves to art and science. The simplest and completely spontaneous form of this division of labor was slavery." The dazzling ancient culture found in world history such as the hydraulics and architecture of ancient Egypt, the magnificent palaces and temples of Babylon, the bronze works of art in the time of Yin and Chou in China, the literary art and philosophy of ancient Greece, etc., all thrived on the basis of this major division of labor. But all of the discoveries in culture, art and science in the times of slavery were the fruits of the painful labors of slaves. Take for example the pyramids of Egypt, a wonder in the history of architecture. The largest pyramid that stands loftily out is made up of massive stones weighing 2½ tons apiece and towers 146½ meters while each of its sides at the base measures 230 meters in length. It was the fruit of continuous labors of a hundred thousand slaves for 40 years. In the final analysis, it is the slaves, and not heroes, who created history.

The historical progress brought about by the great division into mental and manual labor was paid for by the great sacrifices of vast majority of people subject to oppression by a few. Accordingly, the social division of labor running through the entire history of civilization has been consistently manifested as a sharp antagonism between classes.

In the slave society, the opposition between mental and manual labor was basically a reflection of the class contradiction between the slave owners and slaves. The various fields of intellectual activity were all intended to serve the needs of the slave owners in plundering and suppressing the slaves. The slaves were but looked upon as "talking instruments" and forced to do what was strictly regarded as manual labor and cast into the darkest of worldly hells.

In feudal society, the antagonism between mental and manual labor showed itself as the contradiction between the landlord class and peasantry. Just as Chairman Mao states: "As always the landlords have culture, the peasants have none. But the culture of the landlords is created by the peasants, because that which has brought about the landlord's culture has been none other than the blood and sweat extracted from the peasants." But apologists for the feudal autocracy have always tried to cover up and obliterate the class origin of such opposition by emphasizing that landlords

are born to be wise whereas the peasants are born stupid. The "theory of dividing human nature into three grades" as advocated by the Confucian watch-dog Tung Chung-shu stresses that it is only natural for the laboring people with a "narrow nature" to be dominated by big men with the "nature of saints." The European feudal theologian Thomas Aquinas also stated: "It is only natural for people with outstanding ability and intellect to enjoy dominating power; those who have comparatively inferior intelligence but who are physically stronger seem fated to be slaves." These reactionary theories all have their own way of getting their message across, but essentially they all focus on the attempt to prove that the opposition between mental and manual labor is rational. The evil result was to stifle the development of science and culture and cause the darkness and ignorance of the Middle Ages. But the highly and noble turn out to be the most stupid. European feudal aristocrats often could not even write their own names and had to employ a group of literate clerks and priests to do things for them. The church monopolized culture and education, but apart from religion and theology that taught only such terms as heaven and hell, there was no science and culture to speak of. In Chinese feudal society, feudal aristocrats were often more foolish than idiots. When Emperor Hui of Western Tsin heard toads croaking, he asked: Are these "official toads" or "private toads"? Prime Minister Ts'ai Ching in the times of Northern Sung had two sons. They were asked: "Where does rice come from?" One of them said it came from the stone mortar, the other, from the straw sack! As to those feudal Confucian scholars who never labored and were unable to distinguish between the five different kinds of grain, they only knew how to swing their heads muttering "As Confucius says...." They despised manual labor and looked upon themselves as very clever. In fact they were a bunch of idiots knowing neither how to work nor till the land. As to those master teachers of the classics, everyone of them was buried in scholasticism, doing nothing but to write notes on the Five and Thirteen Classics, and the more notes they wrote, the more stupid they became. And none of those who got the top place at the imperial examinations was a man of real learning. In contrast, the lowly are the cleverest. The scientific and technological inventions cursed by the Confucianists in feudal times as "stunts of improper ingenuity" mostly came from oppressed classes, the "mean men" of the lowest social status having little formal education.

As the world entered the era of capitalism, the opposition between mental and manual labor became "one of the most important sources of modern social inequalities." With the rapid development of big industries, the ignorance and backwardness of the Middle Ages were shattered to bring about a dynamic surge of science and technology. What the bourgeoisie needed was no longer the "wild and ignorant" slaves and serfs of old, but wage slaves having a certain level of education to suit the requirements of mechanized production so that more surplus value could be extracted. The bourgeoisie held in its hands all functions of government, monopolized science, culture and technical knowledge that had become highly developed, and had all kinds of intellectuals trained into people who wrote and talked in its favor, in other words, turned into commodities of real value. Professors, scholars and experts, however noble they claimed to be, were but paid servants of capital. Every bit of cultural knowledge, every scientific and technological invention, and every piece of art work could be bought,

sold or exchanged , commercialized as they were. In a word, the capitalist system "turns intellect into power with which capital dominates labor." The separation of intellect from manual labor in the process of production profoundly reflected the savage exploitation and oppression of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie. In the realm of ideology, Schopenhauer clamored that "putting many fools together wouldn't help in matching a clever man." Nietzsche advocated the "superman" philosophy, believing that "the poor and miserable" should be dominated by "supermen" with the greatest power. All this was but intended to maintain the power of control of capital over labor. A general observation of various exploiting class societies shows clearly: "the last reason used to defend class distinctions is always this: There must be a class that doesn't have to earn its daily bread so that it can devote itself to mental labor for the good of society."

But the modern industrial revolution basically overthrew the basis of these reactionary theories. The trend of the development of machine production demanded the breaking of the bonds of the old social division of labor and the integration of mental and manual labor. But, in the decadent capitalist relations of production, all "cultured classes" have become enslaved by specialized education and the abnormal development arising out of such specialized techniques, to turn into parasites despicable of labor and doing nothing. At to the proletariat, it became a pure appendage of the big industrial machine, and provided wage slaves for surplus value. Their intelligence and wisdom were stifled, their inventions and creations strangled. The fruits of mental labor in society, the progress made in science and technology, did not lighten the labor of worker but intensified the capitalist's plunder of the worker. The existence of such antagonism "becomes an ever growing obstacle to the development of industrial productivity and the development of science and art, especially to the development of civilized social intercourse." Under such conditions, the overthrow of the capitalist relations of production and the elimination of the contradictions between mental and manual labor have become the objective demand of social development.

The great historical mission naturally falls on the shoulders of the proletarians, representatives of the new productive forces. Since the opposition between mental and manual labor is based on class opposition, then its elimination must be preceded by the overthrow of bourgeois rule and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat through the proletarian revolution. This has been fully illustrated by the victory of the Chinese revolution. It is precisely because the Chinese people under the leadership of the Communist Party and Chairman Mao have toppled the rule of imperialism and its running dogs and established the socialist system under the dictatorship of the proletariat that the centuries-old sharp antagonism between mental and manual labor has been basically ended. The broad laboring masses have won the right to study culture, to receive an education and to master science and technology. Intellectuals are profoundly transforming themselves. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, a great majority of them are beginning to take the road of integrating themselves with the workers and peasants. The superstructure, including the various spheres of culture, is also undergoing profound socialist transformation. All of this has been the great fruit of the proletarian revolution.

However, throughout the historical period of socialism, there still exist essential differences between mental and manual labor. For example, between the cadres, managerial personnel and intellectuals devoted mainly to mental labor and the worker-peasant masses devoted mainly to manual labor, the line of social division of labor is still very clear, with the former often enjoying much better working and living conditions than the latter. What is more important is the fact that in socialist society, owing to the existence of classes, class contradictions and class struggle, the differences between mental and manual labor are inevitably bound up with class struggle. Old thoughts and old forces of habit reflecting the opposition between mental and manual labor -- such as studying in order to become an official, looking down upon manual labor and the laboring people, etc. -- are still poisoning people's minds and are stubbornly hindering the growth of socialist new-born things. As to the various sectors of the superstructure, some are actually still controlled by the bourgeoisie. Some are being transformed, but the achievements of reform are not yet solid. Therefore, only by insistently keeping up the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, by eliminating all class differences and influence of all old traditional concepts can the differences between mental and manual labor be abolished. Moreover, such differences are also related to the level of development of the social productive forces. Until the social productive forces are developed to a high level, until mankind itself has fully developed itself to be capable of doing all kinds of work, until labor has become the prime necessity in the life of mankind, it is impossible to thoroughly eradicate the differences between mental and manual labor. The task is indeed heavy and the road long. We should devote all our lives to the struggle to accomplish this great historical mission.

The existence of the three great differences provides the soil on which new bourgeois intellectual aristocrats will thrive. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, if the differences between mental and manual labor are not handled correctly, they may still be developed into an antagonistic contradiction. The new and old bourgeoisie together with their intellectual aristocrats will always do their utmost to widen the differences between mental and manual labor and have capitalism fully restored. In the Soviet Union today, intellectual aristocrats and academic overlords are in control of various departments of science and culture, leading a life similar to that of the aristocrats in the times of the Tsar, whereas workers and peasants have again been thrown into the miserable depths of oppression and exploitation. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has even openly propagated various absurdities on eugenics in support of such antagonism, lauding intellectual aristocrats as the finest, most knowledgeable and capable people; at the same time, it mutters a lot of nonsense that idiots "lacking the proper conditions" could at best become "handicraftsmen," and it would be "impossible" to train them, like "sowing seeds on sand or stone." Listen, is this not the same old tune as "superior men labor with their minds, the mean men labor with their hands"? In our country, such chieftains of the revisionist line as Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao have made vain attempts to follow the footsteps of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, making every effort to maintain and widen the differences between mental and manual labor, nurture the new-born

bourgeoisie and its intellectual aristocrats, in order to attain their wild dreams of restoring capitalism. The Lin Piao anti-Party clique referred to itself as a group of "geniuses" and "super-geniuses" while attacking cadres attending the May 7 cadre schools as "disguised unemployment," vilifying the educated youth going to the countryside as "tantamount to a disguised form of labor reform." What they had advocated was nowhere different from what has been peddled by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. They are peddling the same kind of merchandise!

The great leader Chairman Mao has always attached extreme importance to restricting and narrowing the differences between mental and manual labor. As early as 1939, he set forth the principle of "studying and engaging in production at the same time," and later repeatedly stressed the need for "intellectuals to be integrated with the worker and peasant masses." He formulated the educational policy for training "cultured laborers with socialist consciousness," and explained that the participation of cadres in collective productive labor was a measure of fundamental importance under the socialist system. He called on "the masses of cadres to get down to take part in labor." Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, such socialist new-born things as the May 7 cadre schools and the rustification of educated youths are developing at full pace. These revolutionary measures carry with them vital and far-reaching significance in narrowing and eliminating the differences between mental and manual labor.

The three great differences will disappear with the abolition of class society. With the eventual withering away of classes and the high-level development of the productive forces, these contradictions and differences will also be phased out in due time. The magnificent and splendorous ideal of communism is spurring us on. Under the guidance of the Party's basic line, let us strive with unflagging effort for the realization of this goal!

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